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SOCIAL PERMISSIVE REASONING AS INHERITED POVERTY (CRITICAL VIEW OF A POLITICAL DYNASTY PRONE TO CORRUPTION)

By:

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ABSTRACT: Political Dynasty and Corruption are like two inseparable things. In Indonesia, political dynasty has been growing since the era of reformation, right after the implementation of regional autonomy system which enables the continuation of local politics succession directly. At 2018 regional election, there were five provinces with candidates from political dynasties such as: Banten, South Sumatera, West Java, East Java, and West Kalimantan.

As a causality relation, corruption is the outcome and permissive behavior is the cause. In the Province of Banten, corruption occurs due to the permissive behavior stemmed socially and structurally in the society. One of the influence of the permissive behavior towards corruption is the level of education. The lower it is, the higher the level of poverty, thus more permissive they are towards corruption, as well as the society's lack of knowledge about negative effects of political dynasty. The people in Banten seems don't fully acknowledge that political dynasty is degrading the essence of democracy and prone to corruption practice. In 2016, Banten holds sixth position in Indonesia in their level of poverty, and the second lowest in Java. Based on statistical data, until 2017 the amount of people with poverty in the cities and rural areas has increased.

This research used qualitative research method in explanative manner, where the target of this research was to explain the social permissive reasoning phenomenon in the society of Banten as an inherited poverty of a political dynasty which prone to corruption, with several facts that supported data and research analysis which can be used to understand issues derived from such phenomenon.

Keyword: *Social Permissive Reasoning, Poverty, and Corruption.*

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INTRODUCTION

As a province stone distance from Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia, the stereotypes of Banten are: being left behind, corruption, political dynasty, poverty, unemployment, damaged schools and infrastructure. Banten is a relatively new province. It used to be a part of the Province of West Java but then established itself since year 2000 by the Law of The Republic of Indonesia Number 23 Year 2000 dated October 17th, 2000 with their center of government at the city of Serang. Expansion of Banten from West Java was influenced by lots of stakeholders such as politicians, local bureaucrats, the society, as well as businessmen. From the businessmen side there's a local strongman named Kyai Haji Tubagus Chassan Sochib. Haji Khasan is the father of the ex-governor of Banten, Ratu Atut Chosiyah.

As the phenomenon, the family of Haji Chassan started their governmental journey when Ratu Atut was elected as the Vice Governor of Banten from 2002 to 2007, after that she succeeded to rule as Governor from 2007 to 2012. During her tenure as Governor were the times where her family members went into politics one by one. It is possible that because of her success, her family members were getting into legislative and executive competitions, as well as other public government positions. The graphic are shown below:



Political dynasty and corruption seems to be inseparable pair. According to data collected by Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW), at least there are six political dynasty involved in the circle of corruption. First Ratu Atut Choisyiah's dynasty in Banten; second, the dynasty in Kutai Kartanegara. Syaukani Hassan and Rita Widayari are father and daughter, both were the Regent of Kutai Kertanegara, and were also involved in corruption cases. Third, dynasty in Cimahi, Itoc Tochija and Atty Suharti. Fourth, Fuad Amin's dynasty in Bangkalan, Madura. Fifth, dynasty in Klaten conducted by Haryanto family. Sixth, dynasty in Banyuasin. At the regional election back in 2018, there were five

candidates in five Province came from political dynasties: Banten, South Sumatera, West Java, East Java, and West Kalimantan.

Facts mentioned above approved Jeffrey Winters opinion in his book *Oligarchy* (2011). He stated that democracy doesn't automatically erase the practice of oligarchy. On the contrary, in most cases democracy is considered as an ideal playing field to spread oligarchy. His concern seems to be true in the context of local politics in Indonesia after the era of reformation. In Indonesia, political dynasty has been growing since the reformation era, right after the implementation of regional autonomy system which enables the succession of local politics directly. With capital resource and strong social power, several dynasties flourish and take over almost all political institution in the region.

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

a. Social Permissive Reasoning of the Society

In everyday language, social permissive reasoning shapes permissive, ignorant, feeling bad, too much tolerant behaviors, and even easily forgives mistakes for the sake of humanity. The society doesn't care about all permissive reasoning that thrives between the elites and themselves, where the point is being permissive about everything.

In a causality relation, corruption is the result and permissive behavior as the cause. In other words, corruption occurs as a permissive behavior stemmed socially and structurally in the society. Corruption then flourishes and becomes pandemic among a society with growing and stemming permissive behavior. Permissive behavior toward corruption influenced by the level of education. The lower its, the higher the level of poverty, thus more permissive they are towards corruption (BPS.go.id). Other aspect driving such permissive behavior is a dominant paternal culture in the society. The ignorance of corruptive behavior isn't because of the helplessness of the society and government institutions, but it's more of a lack of renewal in the society's social structure. News about corrupt politician and officials, bribery, love infidelity, first class facilities given to politicians and official behind bars, all of them is just like an usual news and already been considered a common thing in the society.

b. Inherited Poverty

The society of Banten still don't consider education as important which can be seen by the high level of school dropouts. Pure Participation Grade (Angka Partisipasi Murni) in a high school or vocation school level is only 57,04%, where the distance between home and school is the main issue. In the Regency of Pandeglang, it took 20 kilometers for the

students to get to school, meanwhile in Lebak the distance can go up to 25 kilometers, and according to data from Ministry of Culture and Education, there are 48% damaged schools in Banten.

According to Ega Alfreda (published in TRIBUNJAKARTA.COM, Tangerang, January 16th, 2016), Banten holds sixth position in Indonesia in their level of poverty, and second lowest in Java. In February 2018, the unemployment rate in Banten is the second largest in Indonesia, when in fact thousands of industries has established in Serang and Tangerang since Banten was declared as Province in October 4th, 2000. Open unemployment is highly contributed by junior high school graduates.

The Central Bureau of Statistics in the Province of Banten had released the poverty figures per March 2017. The results showed an increase in the level of poverty to 5,45 % or 17.3 thousand of people with poverty. The increase resulted from the National Economy Social Survey (Susenas) in March 2017. At the previous semester, the level of poverty was around 5,36 % and in March there was a 0,09 % increase or 5,45 %. Besides that, percentage of poor people in the cities and rural areas are increasing as well. In the cities, the amount of poor people increased from 4,49 % to 4,52 %, meanwhile in the rural areas the amount of poor people was 7,32 % in September 2016 and now increased to 7,61 % in March 2017.

There's an increase of 10.9 thousand people in the cities, and 6.4 thousand people in the rural areas, stated the Head of Central Bureau of Statistics in the Province of Banten, Agoes Soebono at the press release on Tuesday, July 18th, 2017.

Between September 2016 and March 2017, the Index of Poverty Depth and the Index of Poverty Severity had increased. This indicates the average costs of people living in poverty way lower than the line of poverty and the gap of cost among the poor people has widen as well. The increase of quantity and percentage of the poor people between September 2012 to March 2013 in the cities due to general inflation was quite high, which was 3,8 %. Moreover, the Economy of Banten at the first three months in 2013 was down to 5,76 %, compared with the last three months in 2012, which was 5,92 %.

One of the reasons the continous growing of poverty in Banten is a corrupt political dynasty practice. Political dynasty has stolen the right of the society to enjoy a good health service, decent education service, and also caused the high cost of administration service cost, which is a very basic service for the society. A huge amount of fund to do such basis services, that is the one being corrupted by Ratu Atut's political dynasty in Banten.

The portrait of poverty in Banten is similar to Jeffrey Winter's opinion that the goal of political dynasty is to form power materialism, to lengthen or increase private wealth and social position in the society with any means necessary.

c. Society of Banten Tends to Tolerate Gratification

A survey conducted by Indonesia Survey Institution (Lembaga Survei Indonesia), between October 8th – 24th 2018, showed that society of Banten still permissive towards corruption. This perception occurs due to the frequent bribery practice when dealing with the regional government. LSI researcher, Rizka Halida said 46% of people in Banten considered giving in the form of money, goods, entertainment service, or gifts to the regional government institution as gratification is a common practice. It's a very high percentage and it proves their tolerance towards gratification or bribery. Their perception towards nepotism regarding public matters with the regional government also increased. Nepotism was considered normal with 17% percentage in 2016, 31% in 2017, and 39% in 2018, and even in 2018, there were 7% of respondents considered nepotism as a common thing.

d. Political Dynasty and Corruption Issue at 2018 Banten Regional Election

Political Dynasty and Corruption Issue were often heard during 2018 campaign period in Banten. This involved Andika Hazrumy, the eldest son of Ratu Atut Chosiyah, Banten's ex-governor who got jailed due to corruption case. Atut's family and relatives are well known for their occupancy all over Banten. This province, which located in the very west side of Java, always under the limelight because of how the political dynasty practice there. Commission of Corruption Eradication (KPK) also include Banten in the list of province with high potential of corruption that needs special surveillance.

Results of Banten's election in 2018 showed that society there still consider figure factor as the most important rather than issues like corruption and political dynasty. The presence of Atut's political dynasty which was established years and years ago still effective to lengthen their ruling in Banten. With that being said, the political dynasty in Banten is alive until now.

The issue of political dynasty and corruption in Banten is irrelevant due to the conventional thinking of the society. They don't seem to understand completely that political dynasty is a form of abuse in democracy and prone to corruption practice. They don't understand or even care who and how their regional leaders got elected, they're happy enough to earn some economical benefit when the election time comes. According

to Saiful Mujani's research, the society of Banten is very open to money politics. They think it's a common practice and there is nothing wrong with it. That's why the money politics in there have various forms, such as distributing instant noodles as gift, job promotion as civil government officer, and others.

CONCLUSION

1. Poverty as the massive impact of corruption. The rise of corrupt political dynasty in Banten is supported by the highly permissive reasoning behavior of the society towards money politics. It is because the society tend to think about themselves and their family. Part of the society that doesn't relate to Ratu Atut's family don't have a firm grip to live their daily life. Their uncertainty of life caused by unsolved problems and the lacking sense of community and togetherness nowadays.
2. Regarding the applying of Criminal Law. The best optimal treatment for corruptors is increasing the explicit cost of corruption. The ideal financial punishment for the corruptors should measures the cost of social corruption by considering the social impact of corruption.

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